THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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ANOTHER MEDIEVAL CONVENTION IN SHAKSPERE

By ERNEST H. COX

IN recent years scholarship has done much to project Shakspere against a background of medieval thought and convention. In 1916 Professor Frank A. Patterson pointed out the presence in Shakspere of several reflections of lyric forms of the Middle Ages.[1] Since his study there have been numerous other suggestions as to conventional medieval elements in Shakspere. In 1922 Professor W. W. Lawrence urged that, to a great degree, in literary criticism "the conventions of the Middle Ages may properly be applied to literature of the age of Elizabeth."[2] Last year another scholar called attention to the persistence in Elizabethan tragedy of the *contemptu mundi* theme, and he mentioned as an example the meditation of Hamlet over Yorick's skull.[3] In this particular Shaksperian passage we have not only a recurrence of a medieval theme, but also what should be of even greater interest to the student of Shakspere: the expression of that theme in a conventional medieval manner —a fact which appears to have escaped general observation.

One of the rhetorical frameworks to which the *contemptu mundi* theme clung most tenaciously is well known as the *ubi sunt* formula. This formula achieved tremendous popularity in the Middle Ages and appeared in various types of medieval literature. More than that, it persisted in Renaissance literature to such an extent and in such notable literary productions as to make it one of the significant contributions of medieval convention to Renaissance expression.

Among the three or four well-defined patterns of the *ubi sunt* formula there is one which inquires after the pleasures

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[1]Frank A. Patterson, "Shakspere and the Medieval Lyric," *Shaksperian Studies* (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1916), pp. 431-452.

[2]W. W. Lawrence, "The Meaning of *All's Well that Ends Well*," *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 440-441.

[3]Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), p. 40.

and possessions of those who have been long dead. Hawks and hounds, castles and towers, and the eating, drinking, and laughter of the hall are details which become highly conventionalized. The detail which is of present interest concerns merry-making in the great hall. "Where," asks the poet of the Old English *The Wanderer,* "has gone the banquet place? Where are the joys of the hall?"[4] A very similar question is asked by an anonymous poet of the thirteenth century. After he has inquired for those who have lived before him—those who led the hounds and bore the hawks, who possessed field and wood; the rich ladies who wore golden ornaments and had bright countenances—the poet asks,

> Were is þat lawing and þat song?[5]

In one of the versions of the *Debate of the Body and Soul,* the soul, after taunting the body for its loss of pride and of such possessions as rich clothes, proud palfreys, greyhounds, falcons, towers, and high halls, inquires,

> Where are þy glemen, þat shulde þe glewe
> wiþ harpe and lute and tabourete?
> þe piperes, þat þo bagges blewe . . .?[6]

In Skelton's elegy on Edward IV, the body of the king is made to lament the loss of its earthly possessions after this fashion:

> Where is now my conquest and victory?
> Where is my riches and royal aray?
> Wher be my coursers and my horses hye,
> Where is my myrth, my solas, and my play?
> As Vanyte, to nought al is wandred away.[7]

With these several passages in mind, one almost feels that, when Hamlet meditates over one skull:

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[4]Ll. 92-93.

[5]Carleton Brown, ed., *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 85.

[6]Hermann Varnhagen, ed., "Zu Mittelenglischen Gedichten," *Anglia,* II (1879), 229-230.

[7]Alexander Dyce, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Skelton* (London, 1843(, 2 vols., I, 4.

> Why may that not be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddities now, his quillets, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks?[8]

and more particularly when he addresses to Yorick's skull such queries as:

> Where be your gibes now? your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now, to mock your own grinning? quite chapfallen?[9]

he is falling into a manner of speech already familiar to the literature. Without insisting, however, upon the significance of what, after all, is possibly nothing more than an interesting similarity of situations and expressions, we come to a relationship for which a stronger claim can be made.

A second, and more frequently used, pattern of the *ubi sunt* formula is one in which the names of long-gone heroes are called in catalogue fashion. The origin of the convention is unknown, but an early illustration of it occurs in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy:*

> Where are now the bones of staunch Fabricius?
> Where is now Brutus, or stern Cato?[10]

A Latin hymn of the eleventh century begins,

> Where is Plato? Where is Porphyrius?
> Where is Tullius, or Virgil?

and stretches the list out to include such renowned ancients as Thales, Empedocles, Aristotle, Alexander, Hector, David, Solomon, Helen, and Paris.[11] The thirteenth-century "Cur Mundus Militat" of Jacopone da Todi inquires after Solomon, Samson, Absolom, Jonathan, Cæsar, Dives, Cicero, and Aristotle.[12] Such catalogues are numerous in the Middle Ages. That of Thomas de Hales includes Paris, Helen, Amadis, Tristram, Ysolt, Hector, and Cæsar.[13] In the fifteenth century, Jacob Ryman and John Lydgate have no-

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[8]V, i, 106-09.
[9]V, i, 208-212.
[10]Book II, Metre 7, Ll. 15-18.
[11]Appendix to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages,* ed., Israel Gollancz, no pagination.
[12]F. A. March, ed., *Latin Hymns* (N. Y.: Harpers, 1891), p. 176.
[13]Carleton Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

table lists.[14] One of Lydgate's passages inquires after Cæsar, Lucan, Octavian, Cicero, Seneca, Cato, and Trajan.[15]

It may be observed, further, that the list of worthies was often used illustratively, without the interrogative form. There is an excellent instance of this in Barclay's adaptation of Brandt's *Ship of Fools:*

> Take thou example by Julius cesar
> That of the worlde durynge a whyle was sure
> And many kynges subduyd by myght of warre
> And of the Empyre had lordshyp charge cure
> But this his myght great space dyd not endure. . . .

This example is followed by those of Darius, Xerxes, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Crœsus, and Cyrus; and there is presently a fully developed *ubi sunt* passage.[16] Such verses as employ the list without the question form state directly what the regular formula implies. There are numerous examples of this sort of literary convention, a notable one being in William Dunbar.[17]

In all these catalogues of names, whether in question form or not, two of the worthies whose names appear most frequently are Julius Cæsar and Alexander. They seem to have been most popular, also, as the *ubi sunt* convention moved on into the Renaissance. In an elegy by George Whetstone, we have the two, with Pompey added:

> What did become of Cæsar's clyming head,
> Of Pompey's rule, and Alexander's raigne?
> A light account, so soone as they were dead. . . .[18]

Another elegy, whose authorship is unknown, thus couples the two worthies in rhyme:

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[14]For the Ryman verses, see J. Zupitza, ed., "Die Gedichte des Franziskaners Jakob Ryman," *Archiv*, LXXXIX (1892), 256. The formula is found in Lydgate's "As a Midsomer Rose." Shee H. N. McCracken, ed., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (London: Early English Text Society, 1934), pp. 780-785.

[15]*The Fall of Princes*, Ll. 4495-4515.

[16]Sebastian Brandt, *The Ship of Fools* (trans. A. Barclay; Edinburgh: Paterson, 1874), I, 268-269.

[17]John Small, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1893), II, 74.

[18]T. Park, *Heliconia*, II, 12.

Men speake of Hector, of Achilles stoute;
Ofte have I heard of Alexanders name;
Of Ajax, Pyrrhus, all the Gretian route;
Of Scipio, Pompey, and of Cæsar's fame;
Yet that this one is dead, it greeves me more,
Then all the rest, whome I have nam'd before.[19]

Samuel Rowlands has an elaborate *ubi sunt* passage, in which he inquires after Methuselah and the patriarchs, Samson, Absalom, Hector, Hercules, Pompey, and Achilles. His concluding lines are:

Where marcheth Alexander with his drum,
To Cæsar's scepter who doth yeeld or bow;
Where are those great and mighty conquering ones?
Time, shew an ounce of all their bones.[20]

Christopher Lever, in an elegy on Queen Elizabeth, asks:

Where is the honor of great Macedon,
That measur'd his large empires with his sworde?
Great Julius is with many Caesars gone,
Leaving no more of honor than the word;
And but the pennes of schollars that record,
Old Time would bring their honor to that shame,
As Cæsar and the rest would have no name.

Who is't that now to Caesar bends the knee,
Or frames the sweete of wordes to please his eare?
Who is't that now regardeth his decree,
Or his offended countenance doth feare?
Cæesar in's grave, his honor is no where:
If honour thus doe perish in the best,
What may be then expected of the reste?[21]

Robert Southwell's use of the theme is somewhat similar:

Though all the East did quake to hear
Of Alexander's dreadful name,
And all the West did likewise fear
To hear of Julius Cæsar's fame,

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[19]"Verses upon the Report of the Death of the Right Honorable the Lord of Essex," *Ballads from Manuscripts* (ed. F. J. Furnivall), II, 227.

[20]Samuel Rowlands, "A Bloudy Battell betwixt Time and Death," *Works* (Hunterian Club), I, 25-26.

[21]"Queen Elizabeth's Teares," *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, III, 679-680.

> Yet both by Death in dust now lie;
> Who then can 'scape, but he must die?[22]

It is into the convention demonstrated by the foregoing passages that Hamlet falls when he reaches the climax of his grotesque logic:

> Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander
> returneth into dust; the dust is earth; of earth
> we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was
> converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?
> Imperious Cæsar, dead and turn'd to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
> O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
> Should patch a wall t' expel the winter's flaw![23]

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Belton, Texas.

[22]W. H. Turnbull, ed., *The Poetical Works of the Rev. Robert Southwell* (London: Smith, 1856), pp. 137-138.
[23]V, i, 231-239.

SHAKSPERE RESARTUS

By ELEANOR CLARK

THERE is no better way to treat William Shakspere than to take what he has to say about men and affairs seriously home to our contemporary business and bosom. That the Mercury Theatre has attempted, by various directorial devices, to apply the woes of a Roman civil war, following the murder of Cæsar, to the actual and potential woes of our own times is wholly to their credit. They have, moreover, our gracious permission to add a second feather to the scanty forest on their caps, with a couple of provincial roses thrown in for good measure, in recognition of their courage in abolishing the trappings and suits of Roman woe. Shakspere has a far better chance in a navy pin-stripe informal than ever he had in the velvet petticoat in which Maurice Evans insinuated his way into the susceptible hearts of our bourgeois little old New York. But when one has conceded these two good intentions to the Mercury outfit, one has done what one could for them, realizing sadly, as one must, that the road to hell is paved with such intentions.

There is in Ireland a phrase that happily fits Mr. Welles's attempt to make Shakspere's seething condemnation of a gang of murderers into a burble of adolescent frustration. When an Irishman braces himself to some Herculean task —say, like "braining a bull with a limb of an apple tree" or "spitting in a tiger's eye," his heart is never daunted, for he knows that if the task can be done "by main strength and ignorance" he will be equal to it. So with Mr. Welles: if violence to the text of Shakspere and sheer ignorance *could* make a fascist out of Cæsar and a booby out of Brutus, then Mr. Welles might have succeeded. Happily, the impossible cannot be achieved even by "main strength and ignorance." Besides, is Mr. Welles Irish?

Among all the insinuating, rationalizing rogues from which Shakspere has stripped the mask of plausive manners to show us their hideous, pocky interiors, none seems to the

present writer quite so terrifying as Brutus. Shakspere is not at his best when presenting an "out and out" villain like Iago or Edmund or Iachimo. Persons who are obviously bad do not interest him enough to make them convincing. But when he undertakes to lay about him against a hypocrite, one who "smiles and smiles" while doing his villany, one casts one "drooping eye" on the sins or weaknesses of his victims while keeping the other "auspicious eye" open for his own advantage, then he seems to take the button off the foil and he hits to kill. So he did with Brutus, who breathes the pieties of friendship while plotting with those he knows to be the envious enemies of his friend. To the "world" Brutus assumes the rôle of tyrannicide, but to himself, when entirely alone, he admits that Cæsar has shown no signs of tyranny, or as Mr. Welles would probably call it, of fascism; he has thrice refused a coronet, has never allowed his "affections to sway more than his reason" and has exhibited always a becoming lowliness of manner" both to his peers and to those of inferior station, reserving his scorn only for the "base spaniel-fawning" of flatterers and cringers.

But what if he *should* in the future decide to accept a crown? What if our children should put peas up their noses? Though they have never shown any signs of such an intention, the very thought of it is enough to prompt us to kill them at once to save all possible inconvenience both to themselves and us. So with Brutus, who proceeds to rationalize his treachery by opining that a crown *"might* change his nature" so that he *may* do danger." "Then," says Brutus, "lest he *may,* prevent."

This is like the new version of the Mikado, who declares:

> My object all sublime
> Has changed in course of time;
> The punishment now precedes the crime,
> It now precedes the crime.

Brutus specifically states that "since the quarrel will bear no colour for the thing he [Cæsar] is, "it must be fashioned thus: that what he *is,* augumented, *would* run to these and these extremities." These are, of course, not specified

because they are not yet in existence. Nevertheless, Brutus decides to "think of him as a serpent's egg which, hatched, *would,* as his kind, grow mischievous." So, he must "kill him in the shell."

To be sure, if these lines are omitted, then Brutus might be portrayed as an adolescent nincompoop who does not know what he really thinks. But the lines were omitted by Mr. Welles, not by Mr. Shakspere.

We must not, however, be too hard on Mr. Welles for these expurgations, for after all, he is only a boy and obviously in beyond his depth. How could such dreadful, deceitful words come out of an innocent face like his? His boyish mind could not even grasp such wickedness, no, not even in a murderer. Of course, Cassius is not so young, nor so pure as Mr. Welles; so he sees right through the hypocritical self-justifying of this "subtle master." As Brutus leaves him, Cassius observes drily, "Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet I see thy honourable metal may be wrought from that it is disposed." There, he opines cynically, "it is meet that noble minds keep ever with their likes," for Oh la! "who so firm that cannot be seduced?" Fie upon this naughty world!

It is well that Cassius, via Mr. Gabel, did not shrug his shoulders at this point. The audience might have suspected Brutus as Cassius did, even though Mr. Welles continued to expurgate incriminating self-accusations like Brutus's determination to "mask the monstrous visage" of his conspiracy and hide it in smiles and affability. There Brutus takes his place alongside of Claudius and Macbeth, and, like them, he knows that if the plotters put their "native semblance on", "not Erebus itself were dim enough to hide" them. Mr. Welles also cuts out Brutus's obscene joking about Cæsar's murder. Casca observes with brutal frivolity, "Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life, cuts off so many years of fearing death." Brutus replied, "Grant that, and then is death a benefit; so are we Cæsar's friends that have abridged his time of fearing death." At precisely this point, Mr. Welles also omitted Brutus's filthy exhortation to

> " stoop, Romans, stoop,
> And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood
> Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords.
> Then walk we forth even to the market place,
> And, waving our red weapons o'er our heads,
> Let's all cry, "Peace, freedom and liberty!"

That is a typical revolutionary scene, but Mr. Welles may have thought his audience would be less keen on the revolution if he showed it to be so sticky; besides, it would have been a shame to soil that navy pin-stripe with anything so revolting as blood. Then, there was the omission of Brutus's "evil spirit" just before Philippi; but why add to the list? As a matter of fact, the things that were put into the play by Mr. Welles's direction produced almost as grotesque a distortion of Shakspere as the things that he omitted. Fancy Shakspere representing Cinna the Poet as the village Idiot Boy!

It seems almost unkind to speak so disparagingly of this production without offering at least some "constructive criticism", though something tells me that these precocious young Shake-scenes will not like any suggestion of mine. Still, one can only do one's best; so here is my advice to the Mercury people: Why not try again, this time sticking absolutely to Shakspere? And if you want to make a contemporary application which the text would bear without wrenching, dress your Caesar up like the Negus, and Cassius like Mussolini, and let Brutus look as much like the League of Nations as possible. Mr. Welles might do very well for the rôle. Frankly, you'd have something there, and it would be worth all the gallant initiative and courage and faith in yourselves that you have so recklessly invested in this uneducated travesty of *Julius Caesar*.

Hunter College, New York.

SHAKSPERE'S "GOLDEN WORLD"

(*A. Y. L. I.*, I. i. 127)

By J. Leon Lievsay

IN the opening scene of *As You Like It* one of the minor characters, speaking of the banished Duke and his men, living in the forest of Arden "like the old Robin Hood of England," says that they "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world"—the reference being, as few commentators fail to point out, to "the Golden Age, the first and best age of the world, in which, according to the classical poets, man lived in a state of ideal happiness."[1] Undoubtedly, the identification of "golden world" with "golden age" is correct, and the reference is, indeed, to the classical theme most familiar, perhaps, in the *Works and Days* (II. 106-125) of Hesiod, or the *Eclogues* (IV, 9) of Virgil, the *Metamorphoses* (I, 89-112) of Ovid, and the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (II, metre v) of Boethius.[2] But that explanation, good as far as it goes, does not help to answer the question which a curious mind might logically ask: Why does Shakspere here say "golden *world*" rather than "golden *age*"? I think there may be a reason, for elsewhere[3] he does use the form "golden age."

Whatever that explanation is, however, it is almost certainly not the simple thing that one commentator has thought it to be. In the introduction to his reprint[4] of *The Civile Conversation,* translated by George Pettie (Books I-III, 1581) and Bartholomew Young (Book IV, 1586) from the Italian[5] of Stefano Guazzo, Sir Edward Sullivan notices the Shaksperian expression in *A. Y. L. I.* and comments, "Pettie had also used the former phrase, 'the golden world

[1] *Selected Plays of Shakespeare,* ed. Karl J. Holzknecht and Norman E. McClure (New York, 1937), III, 168.

[2] See the interesting article by K. F. Smith, "The Ages of the World (Greek and Roman)," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* I, 192-200.

[3] *Rape of Lucrece,* 60; *Tempest,* II, i, 168.

[4] Tudor Translations, Ser. 2, VII-VIII (London, 1925), p. xlv.

[5] Pettie made his translation from the French version (1579) of Gabriel Chappuys, supplying it later (1586) with changes from the revised Italian ed. of 1580.

being gone' (Bk. III, 101)"—clearly with the implication of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* The phrase "golden world" does occur here as cited and again (though unnoticed by Sullivan) in *Civile Conversation,* Book II, p. 208: "There is no other thing in trueth that maketh the golden world, but the goodnesse of Princes." Unfortunately for his argument, however, Sir Edward neglects to observe that, before and down to Shakspere's day, the phrase enjoyed a currency rivaling that of its better-remembered cousin, "golden age." A few instances will suffice to illustrate the truth of this statement.

Lydgate's *Fall of Princes,* translated from Laurent de Premierfait's expanded French version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* in the first half of the fifteenth century, for example, contains an entire section (Book VII, ll. 1153-1243) entitled "A Chapitle descryuyng the golden worlde, that is to say whan intemperaunce had hooly the gouernaunce."[6] Within that section the phrase itself occurs four times: in lines 1188, 1209, 1227, and 1232. The *New English Dictionary,* at the entry under "golden", *adj., 7,* as used "of a time or epoch: Characterized by great prosperity and happiness; flourishing, joyous," in addition to the passage from *A. Y. L. I.,* quotes William Tyndale's *Practyse of prelates* (1530), B2^{v}: "Then they called a parliament (as though the golden worlde should come agayne);" and Hall's *Chronicles, Henry VII* (1548), 20b: "That golden worlde of Tully." The phrase appears again in Sir Thomas North's *Diall of Princes* (1557), translated from Guevara, Bk. I, cap. xxi, as "In the first age and golden world, al lived in peace, etc." In the same year Pettie published his *Guazzo,* Thomas Howell was employing the phrase in his *Devises* (1581): "The golden worlde is past sayth some."[7] Robert Greene was familiar with the expression:

> Tis he good Sir that *Saturne* best did please,
> When golden world set worldlings all at ease.[7a]

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[6]Ed. Henry Bergen, E. E. T. S.

[7]Raleigh's reprint, Tudor and Stuart Lib. (Cambridge, Eng., 1906), p. 53.

[7a]*Dorando: The 2d Part of the Tritameron of Love* (London, 1587), in *Works,* A. B. Grosart, ed., III, 125.

Sidney uses it in his *Apologie* (pr. 1595), where, speaking of Nature, he says, "Her world is brasen, the Poets only deliuer a golden."[8] Spenser's formal description of the early state of man's innocence, in the Prologue to Book V of *The Faerie Queene* employs the term "golden age" (st. 2); but in the homelier *Mother Hubberds Tale* (pr. 1591), written earlier, the poet speaks of "the world of gold" (*l.* 151). Even as late as 1598 the phrase was still current, for in that year it appears in a pamphlet called *The Servingman's Comfort:* "The golden worlde is past and gone."[9] Evidently, then, Shakspere was employing no strange locution when he wrote "the golden world."

"Golden age," on the other hand, was also in common use. Shakspere himself, we have noticed, used it in his *Rape of Lucrece* (1594) and in *The Tempest* (1610). In the former, where he was working with Ovidian material, it is not unlikely that his choice of the term was governed by the form given in the *Metamorphoses* (1, 89): *"Aurea prima . . . aetas"*—translated by Golding, *Metamorphoses* (1567), as "Then sprang up first the golden age . . . ."[10] Indeed, it seems probable that Ovid's expression was re-term; for Hesiod uses the term golden race," χρύσεον --- γένος --- ἀνθρώπων (*Works and Days, l.* 109), and *Virgil,* following him, *gens aurea* (*Ecl.* IV, *l.* 9). In Boethius (*De Consol. Phil.,* Bk. II, metre v) the term used is *prior aetas,* which Chaucer once translates as "first age" and again as "The Former Age." Walton's Boethius translation (?1410; pr. 1525 (renders it by "þat raþer age."[11] The form was perhaps further solidified at "golden *age"* by the popularity of Tasso's *Aminta* (1573), which contained the lovely ode to the Golden age so admired—and so admirably translated—by Leigh Hunt: *"O bella età de l'oro."*

A few additional examples, gathered almost at random, will serve to illustrate the vogue of this form. It appears,

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[8]Ed. Arber, *English Reprints* (Westminster, 1901), p. 25.
[9]See *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1926), I, p. 34.
[10]Ed. W. H. D. Rouse (London, 1904), Bk. I, *l.* 103.
[11]See E. P. Hammond, *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, N. C., 1927), p. 48.

we have seen, in the fifth book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596), and earlier in an undated letter (*c.* 1580) of Spenser's friend, Gabriel Harvey. "You suppose," writes Harvey, "the first age was the goulde age. It is nothinge soe. Bodin defendith the goulde age to flourishe nowe, and owr first grandfathers to have rubbid thorowghe in the iron and brasen age at the beginninge when all things were rude and unperfitt in comparison of the exquisite finesse and delicacye, that we are growen unto at these dayes."[12] Sidney's friend and biographer, Fulke Greville, uses it in his *Letter to an Honorable Lady* (1609): "a liuely image of that Golden Age, which the allegories of the poets figure vnto vs."[13] Elsewhere, however, he falls back upon "those golden days."[14]

The Golden Age (1611) is also the title of one in a series of five loosely dramatic productions by Thomas Heywood. We meet the term again in Ben Jonson's masque, *The Golden Age Restored,* presented at court in 1615, where Golden Age is introduced as one of the characters. (See H. Morley's *Masques . . . by B. Jonson,* pp. 194-200.) It is also the form used by Milton in the *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* (1629), line 135; and it appears again in Sir Richard Fanshaw's translation (1647) of Guarini's *Pastor Fido:*

> Fair golden age! when milk was th' only food, etc.[15]

How the phrase "golden *world*" first came to be used we can only conjecture. Perhaps one commentator is on the right track when he notes, "For *world* = state of things, *cf.* i, 2, 296: 'hereafter in a better world than this.' This is in accordance with the etymology—O. E., *wer-eld,* age of men."[16] Personally, I suspect an ecclesiastical influence, possibly through some combination involving the medieval Latin *saeculum,* "the world" or *saecularis,* "worldly",

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[12]*The Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey,* ed. E. J. L. Scott, Camden Soc. (N. S. XXXIII, 1884), p. 86.

[13]*Works,* ed. A. B. Grosart (1870), IV, p. 235.

[14]*A Treatise of Monarchy,* Sect. 1, st. 2; *Works,* ed. Grosart.

[15]*As You Like It,* Booklovers' Edition (New York, 1901), p. 150.

[16]*As You Like It,* ed. J. C. Smith (Arden Shakespeare, Amer. ed., revised by E. H. Wright, Boston, 1916), p. 107.

"secular."[17] In any event, it is almost certain that Shakspere was not thinking of the etymology of either *age* or *world*. The expression "golden world" was ready-made and of venerable standing in the language—was perhaps, even, to judge from the list of users cited above, the more distinctly native term. As such it was suited perfectly to its context; for however disputed may be the location of the forest of Arden, the tradition of Robin Hood is redolent of English soil.

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[17]This would seem to be borne out in Guazzo's *Civil conversatione* (Strasburg, 1614: Latin and Italian in parallel columns), p. 328, where we read: "Niun'altra cosa nel uero rende piu il secolo d'oro che la bontà del Prencipe." Salmuth's Latin version of this runs, "Nihil profectô est, quod *aureum seculum* magis possit credere, quàm Principis bonitas."

HERMIONE'S STATUE AGAIN

(SHAKSPERE'S RETURN TO BANDELLO)

By GEORGE C. TAYLOR

NOTING that "students of Shakespeare have been unable to discover the source of the statue episode at the end of *The Winter's Tale,*" H. Carrington Lancaster,[1] after an examination of interesting elements in plays by Alexandre Hardy and "a certain La Caze," suggests that "Shakespearean students may profitably turn their telescopes" in the direction of French drama with a view to finding there a play or plays which may account for Shakspere's use of the Hermione statue episode and of other details of plot used in *The Winter's Tale.* I wish to call attention, on the contrary, to material which lies under our noses, to a story certainly read and used by Shakspere before 1600 as the source of *Much Ado.* In this tale by Bandello, *Signor Timbreo di Cardona and Finecia Leonato,* the twentieth story of the Novels of Bandello, which Shakspere had already used and to which he returned some ten years later when he was writing *The Winter's Tale,* are to be found most of the important details with which Lancaster is concerned in his article, with the possible exception of the statue episode. It may also explain the statue coming to life.

Shakspere's use of the Bandello story affords another interesting example of what Law[2] called to our attention in the case of the old *Leir,* a first use of it in *Richard the Third* and a second use of it some ten years later in the play of *King Lear.* Shakspere, following his source, Greene's *Pandosto,* as to Hermione to about the middle of the third act of *The Winter's Tale,* there decides, in contrast to what Greene does, not to let Hermione die when she falls unconscious at the news of her son's death, but to revive her. From this point on to the end, therefore, Greene's story can be of no use to Shakspere so far as the Hermione story is concerned, though it continues to be of use to him as to the Perdita portion of the plot. The restoration to life of a

[1] *Studies in Philology,* XXIX, 233 ff.
[2] *Richard the Third,* Act 1, scene 4, *PMLA,* XXVII (1912), 117-41.

heroine who had been struck down under almost identically the same circumstances, and in almost identically the same way, he had already handled successfully in *Much Ado* with the aid of the Bandello story. To this he returns in handling the Hermione plot throughout the latter half of *The Winter's Tale.* Some of the details he had already used in *Much Ado.* Some he had not. Hence *Much Ado* in a very real sense has to be thought of as a source of *The Winter's Tale.*[3] The following are some of the more important units in the tale by Bandello which Shakspere uses in *The Winter's Tale:* (1) The lover accuses the beloved of unchastity. (2) The accused falls in a faint. (3) She is supposed by the false accuser to be dead. (4) The accused recovers and thinks much about the disgrace to her honorable ancestry. (5) The accuser discovers his mistake and repents for causing her death. (6) The woman supposed by her lover to be dead is taken away and concealed for a long time. (7) The accuser does formal penance for his crime. (8) One of the formal penitential observances consists in visiting her tomb or monument regularly (once a day in *The Winter's Tale,* once a year in *Much Ado*). (9) Another one of these formal observances consists in the accuser surrendering his judgment as to whom he will marry again to the friend of the falsely accused (to Paulina in *The Winter's Tale,* and to the father of the accused in Bandello and in *Much Ado*). (10) A *living likeness* of the falsely accused is finally brought before the false accuser. (11) He does not detect the trick. (12) But he is thereby thrown into confusion and joy. (13) The reconciliation is effected by the revelation that the living likeness is in reality the accused. Thus all the details for which Lancaster is seeking in a French play some time before 1610 and many others used in *The Winter's Tale* are to be found in Bandello's *Novelle* (1554) and in Belleforest's translation of it (1569), all except perhaps the statue. Possibly the suggestion is in Bandello for that also.

Now for the statue, which some think that Shakspere, with all his certain and probable knowledge of statues coming to life in story and in drama, *devised* as it appears in

[3] For example, a *curtain* is removed to reveal suddenly Hermione to Leontes, a *mask* is removed to reveal suddenly Hero to Claudius. This detail is not in Bandello.

The Winter's Tale, and which others think that he did not. Lancaster says, "The evidence here set forth makes it extremely improbable that Shakespeare invented Hermione's statue or that he derived it from any of the works previously suggested in this connection."[4] Kittredge, on the contrary, in the most recent comment, remarks pertinently: "For the suggestion of the statue that comes to life one need not have recourse to Lyly's *Woman in the Moon* (1557) or to Marston's *Pygmalion's Image* (1598). A poet who wrote *Venus and Adonis* in 1593 (or earlier) did not need to ask Lyly or Marston in 1611 to lead him to the story of Pygmalion in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (x, 243 ff)."[5] It is, however, important to note that at exactly the appropriate point in Bandello's narrative which Shakspere used as source in the last half of *The Winter's Tale,* he was given the suggestion as to the marble statue. Of the unjustly accused lady lying in a swoon Bandello says: "si lascio andare come morta e perdendo sublito il nativo colore, piu auna statua di marmo che a creatura rassembrava". Belleforest, whom Shakspere read, is translated thus: "she let herself fall as one dead, and of a sudden losing her natural color *resembled a marble statue* [italics mine] rather than a live woman."[6] Failing to use this suggestion as to the marble statue in his *Much Ado,* Shakspere there brings this woman who resembles a marble statue in his source finally before the accuser as a living likeness (as her sister), thereby effecting a reconciliation between the lover and the accused at the end. Shakspere would have had to be practically devoid of inventive genius not to be able to take the step from the living copy he had already used in a similar series of situations to a marble copy in *The Winter's Tale,*[7] particularly if he was familiar with a considerable body of materials in which statues come to life.

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[4] *SP,* XXIX, 238.

[5] *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* p. 432.

[6] *Much Ado About Nothing.* A New Variorum, 1900, Howard Furness, p. 316.

[7] The situation and language as to the matter in *Much Ado* and *The Winter's Tale* are remarkably similar. In *Much Ado* Leonato tells Claudius, who has promised to marry only one whom Leonato chooses for his wife, he wishes him to marry "almost the copy of my child that's dead." V. 1, line 299. In *The Winter's Tale* Paulina tells Leontes, who has promised to marry only by Paulina's consent, he cannot marry "unless another as like Hermoine as is her picture." V. 1, line 74. Shakspere is following Bandello in both cases.

To what degree, then, was the device of statues coming to life known to Elizabethans before the time of *The Winter's Tale?* To what degree was Shakspere familiar with the device (we reckon entirely too little with this aspect) in serious and bawdy stories which had become commonplace among the folk? Baum[8] has shown conclusively that statues coming to life in the literature of the middle ages were as common as blackberries in June. There is, too, in the drama in England an exceedingly early instance. It looks very much as if the *Ludus Super Iconia Sancti Nicoli* (the manuscript dates from the twelfth century)[9] contains a statue of Saint Nicholas who most effectively comes to life at the end of the play. In Shakspere's own day there were two plays which could suggest the Hermione episode to any dramatist as resourceful and inventive as to devices as Shakspere had proved himself to be in scores of instances by the time he designed *The Winter's Tale.* One of these has not been mentioned so far as I know in this connection. It is *An Alarum For London* (1600), ascribed by some to Shakspere himself. As no sound basis has been established for his authorship, it is best to notice instead that it was acted by Shakspere's company, the Chamberlain's Men. Either as actor in this play or producer or merely as one financially interested, Shakspere could hardly fail to be impressed by the remarkable device of the Duke of Alva, being carried as dead through the streets, but once inside the walls coming to life. The other play of decided significance in this connection has often been mentioned as possibly affecting Shakspere in his use of the Hermione statue device. It is *The Tryall of Chevalerie* (1600). Here the man poses as a statue on a tomb and comes to life, thereby effecting reconciliation with his beloved. Lancaster says, "The resemblance of *The Tryall of Chevalerie* to *The Winter's Tale* may well be considered remote." Remote in what sense I do not see, as it was apparently acted by the Admiral's Men, with whom Shakspere was then working in competition. Perhaps Mr. Lancaster means remote because, as he points out, "There is no triangle of suspected husband and wife and supposed lover" in it and be-

[8] "The Young Man Betrothed to the Statue," *PMLA,* p. 523.
[9] J. Q. Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* pp. 56-58.

cause "the supposed statue is a man."[10] The triangle is present a-plenty in Shakspere's own play, *Much ado,* and Bandello. The fact that it is a woman who pretends to be a statue in the Shakspere play and that it is a man who pretends to be a statue in *The Tryall of Chevalerie* does not make improbable the latter as source of the former, if one keeps in mind Shakspere's habit in such matters. A man, Iago, steals the handkerchief from Desdemona in the source of *Othello,* Cinthio's *Hecatommithi;* Emilia, a woman, steals it in *Othello.* Romeo, a man, suggests the ladder in *Romeus and Juliet,* source of *Romeo and Juliet;* the nurse, a woman, suggests it in Shakspere's play. The old man in the *Menaechmi* gives the advice to the jealous wife; Luciana, a woman, gives it in Shakspere's play, *The Comedy of Errors.* This matter of changing the female role to the male and *vice versa* from his source to his play is not uncommon in Shakspere. A study of all Shakspere's plays and their sources, moreover, shows beyond doubt that, contrary to the view sometimes advanced, Shakspere is often exceedingly bold in his changes of source. His deliberate wrenching of the end of *Lear* from happy to tragic is as good an example as any.

All in all, when one considers what Shakspere had available in literature and probably in talk as to statues coming to life, it would seem perhaps unnecessary to seek in a French play a plot corresponding exactly to that part of *The Winter's Tale* which involves the statue of Hermione. There is, it seems, enough and to spare to account for Shakspere's use of the statue without it.

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[10] Hermione's Statue, *SP,* XXIX, 238.

HARDY AND SHAKSPERE AGAIN

By E. P. VANDIVER, JR.

HARDY knew Shakspere thoroughly. Next to the Bible he drew upon him for quotation and allusion. Mr. Carl J. Weber has summarized preceding studies of Hardy's indebtedness, or possible indebtedness, to Shakspere,[1] especially the similarity of the humor of Hardy's rustics and Shakspere's, and the general similarity between one of the most poignant scenes in *The Return of the Native* and *Othello*. Mr. Weber himself has listed many of the Shaksperian quotations, echoes, and allusions found in Hardy.

The purposes of this study are to add to Mr. Weber's list many other references, including those from two novels (*Desperate Remedies* and *The Trumpet-Major*) and from five plays (*Love's Labour's Lost, The Comedy of Errors, King John, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Antony and Cleopatra*) not in the other list; to indicate in each novel the Shaksperian references and quotations; and to point out the especially interesting Shaksperian aspects of *A Pair of Blue Eyes, Far from the Madding Crowd*—with its suggestions of *Othello, A Laodicean,* and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles.*

In Hardy's first novel, *Desperate Remedies,* there is a quotation from a Shaksperian sonnet and a reference to Hallam's criticism of Juliet. The hero of the novel is said to be steeped in Shakspere, even to the footnotes; and the enumeration of the qualities that he would like his wife to possess might well have been inspired by Benedick's, though his taste his not as fastidious as the latter's.

Following the publication of *Under the Greenwood Tree,* with its obviously Shaksperian title, came a novel abounding in apt Shaksperian quotations and allusions—*A Pair of Blue Eyes.* The heading for the first chapter poetically describes the heroine, Elfride Swancourt, as "a fair vestal throned in the west." She has not met many

[1] *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* IX, 91-97, 162-163.

attractive men in her isolated world; and when she first sees Stephen Smith, her interest is compared to that of Miranda. A little later the scene between the two is described as one of "Sweet-and-Twenty." The eleventh chapter, which deals with Elfride's plans to go to London to be married to Stephen, is appropriately entitled "Journeys end in lovers meeting." Her father, not wishing to tell her his destination when she asks about a trip he intends to make, quotes Hotspur's speech to his wife: "Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know, and so far wilt I trust thee . . ."

One of Hardy's most affecting scenes occurs when Elfride and Knight, who has now completely replaced Stephen in the heart of the heroine, meet Stephen in the vault of a church. The similarity of her situation to Claudius's in the famous "prayer scene," when he wishes forgiveness for his sins but is not willing to give up what he has gained by wrong-doing, is evident to her as she thinks of the words of Claudius: "Can one be pardoned and retain the offence?"

The thirty-first chapter is entitled "A worm i' the bud." Viola's speech, in *Twelfh Night,* in which she is telling Orsino, in a cryptic manner, of her love for him, is referred to. Elfride's melancholy is occasioned by the fact that she has not fully revealed the story of her former love for Stephen and fears what effect such a revelation may have on Knight's affection for her. Her fear is justified. Knight, having learned part, unfortunately not all, of the story of her love for another man, leaves her forever. Returning to his books and studies, which he has forsaken for the more enjoyable pastime of love-making, the scholar feels guilty of having neglected his important work because of too easily succumbing to the charm of feminine beauty. Knight, like Antony, feels that he has "kissed away kingdoms and provinces." His unhappiness is again mentioned several months later when Stephen tells him that he is more morbid than Hamlet.

Hardy's fondness for, and skill in, quoting Shakspere is thus apparent in this early novel, his third. There are in this book no less than fourteen quotations apparently based on, or derived from, similar quotations in Shakspere: six

from *Hamlet,* three from *Twelfth Night,* and one each from *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Richard II,* I *Henry IV, King Lear,* and *Antony and Cleopatra;* also there is a reference to Miranda, in *The Tempest.*

Another interesting illustration of Hardy's intimate knowledge of Shakspere occurs in his fourth novel, *Far from the Madding Crowd,* when he casually refers to a statement by Guildenstern and one by Gonzalo in connection with the events in the novel. Part of Macbeth's famous soliloquy is also quoted when Hardy refers to the extravagant professions of love by enamoured young men as

> Full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

There is also in this book something which suggests the powerful depiction of acute pain and despair which is found in such a play as *Othello.* Like Othello, the stalwart and fearless Boldwood is desperately in love; and his sufferings, though arising from a somewhat different reason, are almost as great as Othello's. When he finds that Bathsheba has turned from him to Troy, his sorrow mounts almost to agony. And when he suspects a liaison between Troy and Bathsheba, though still in love with her, he is heartbroken. The following scene between the two men may well have been suggested by the scene between Othello and Iago—the blow, the threat to kill, the mental agony:

> At the same instant Boldwood sprang upon him, and held him by the neck. Troy felt Boldwood's grasp slowly tightening. The move was absolutely unexpected.
>
> "A moment," he gasped. "You are injuring her you love!"
>
> "Well, what do you mean?" said the farmer.
>
> "Give me breath," said Troy.
>
> Boldwood loosened his hand, saying, "By Heaven, I've a mind to kill you!"
>
> "And ruin her."
>
> "Save her."
>
> "Oh, how can she be saved now, unless I marry her?"
>
> Boldwood groaned. He reluctantly released the soldier, and flung him back against the hedge. "Devil, you torture me!" said he.[2]

Moreover, the immediately preceding scene, in which Troy deliberately persuades Boldwood to hide in a place where

[2]Pp. 217f. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

he can overhear the conversation between Troy and Bathsheba so that his torture may be increased, calls to mind the eavesdropping scene in *Othello*. Furthermore, near the end of the book there is a reference to Desdemona. Bathsheba, in turn, like Boldwood, feels the excruciating pain of total unhappiness in love. After Troy has openly proclaimed his love for the dead Fanny rather than his living wife, Bathsheba, crushed and broken, retires with her maid to the attic. During a conversation between the two women Bathsheba instructs the maid to bring up some old books to read, mentioning, among others, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*. The maid then asks:

> "And that story of the black man, who murdered his wife Desdemona? It is a nice dismal one that would suit you excellent just now."[3]

Hardy certainly was thinking of *Othello* when he wrote the two preceding sentences; and it seems probable that he was influenced by the play more than once while writing this novel.

The Hand of Ethelberta contains adverse criticism, on the part of one of the characters, of the unhappy endings of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello,* direct quotations from 1 *Henry IV* and *Macbeth,* and comparisons of the heroine to Hamlet. Although containing some of Hardy's best rustics, who may have had their prototypes in Shakspere, *The Return of the Native* is almost devoid of direct Shaksperian allusion. All we find is a reference to Lear in the 1895 preface and a quotation from *Macbeth. The Trumpet-Major* contains a direct quotation from *The Merchant of Venice,* an echo from *Hamlet,* and a reference to the Dromios.

Especially interesting in *A Laodicean* is the account of an amateur performance of *Love's Labour's Lost,* with references to Shakspere, the romantic characters, Armado, and Nathaniel, and with three excerpts from the play. One of the participants, De Stancy, playing the part of the King of Navarre, is in love with Paula, who is playing the part of the Princess. To further his matrimonial ambitions, De Stancy tampers with the text and suddenly, that he may

[3]P. 360. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

have a good excuse to kiss the Princes, interpolates eight lines from *Romeo and Juliet* into the comedy, concluding:

> "O then, dear Saint, let lips do what hands do;
> They pray, grant thou, lest faith turn to despair.
> Then move not, while my prayer's effect I take.
> Thus from my lips, by yours, my sin is purged."

Shakspere's name is mentioned several times, with a comment on the happy matrimonial endings of his comedies and with a remark concerning his infallibility. In another part of this book the friendship of Paula and Charlotte is compared to that of Hermia and Helena; and Paula, lying in a hammock, compares herself to Ariel. There are also direct quotations from *King John* and 1 *Henry IV,* and paraphrases from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet.* Thus one of Hardy's least-read novels is one of his richest in Shaksperian interest.

Two on a Tower contains quotations from *Hamlet* and *Richard II* and references to Puck, Hermia, Demetrius, and Caliban. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* are quotations from *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night* and references to Rosalind, Calpurnia, Shallow and Silence. *The Woodlanders* contains quotations from *Hamlet, Othello,* and *Measure for Measure* as well as a reference to the mourners in *Cymbeline.* In *Wessex Tales* there is a quotation from *Othello,* an echo from *Macbeth,* and references to Lear and Timon. In *A Group of Noble Dames,* a collection of stories, there is a quotation from *Othello* and references to Rosalind and Brabantio.

Tess of the D'Urbervilles and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* are the two novels of Hardy that are richest in Shaksperian allusions. In *Tess* there are quotations from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Romeo and Juliet,* 1 *Henry IV, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, Measure for Measure, Hamlet, King Lear, Macbeth,* and the *Sonnets.* There are references to Friar Laurence and Gloucester. Another good example of how deeply Hardy was steeped in Shakspere occurs in a conversation between Angel Clare and Mercy Chant. Angel has just spoken favorably of a cloister:

> "Why, you wicked man, a cloister implies a monk, and a monk Roman Catholicism."

> "And Roman Catholicism sin, and sin damnation. Thou art in a parlous state, Angel Clare."[4]

Angel is obviously borrowing his words and logic from Touchstone. When the sad and tortured Tess reproaches herself for being miserable and unhappy after seeing several wounded and suffering birds and considering that her lot is much better than theirs, one is reminded of a similar utterance by the unhappy and persecuted Edgar when he sees his father, who is suffering because of his recently-inflicted blindness.

There are two references to Shakspere in *Jude the Obscure.* In *The Well-Beloved* there are references to Romeo, Juliet, Rosaline, and the Montagues, a direct quotation from *Romeo and Juliet,* and a quotation from the sonnets.

Thus it is evident that Shaksperian quotations or allusions, drawn from the sonnets and at least twenty plays, appear in each of the fourteen novels and in several of the short stories. There are more than sixty different quotations or paraphrases, at least eighteen of which are from *Hamlet.* Of the following twenty-eight characters mentioned by Hardy—the Dromios; Hermia, Helena, Demetrius, Puck; Juliet, Rosaline, Friar Laurence; Silence and Shallow; Rosalind; Calpurnia; Hamlet, Guildenstern, Horatio; Othello, Brabantio, Desdemona, Iago; Lear, Gloucester; Antony; Timon; Ariel, Caliban, Miranda, Gonzalo—four are in each of the following plays: *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Romeo and Juliet, Othello,* and *The Tempest.*

Both Virginia Woolf[5] and Joyce Weiner[6] consider Hardy the greatest writer of powerful tragedy among the English novelists, the novelist most like the great Elizabethan dramatists in the portrayal of deep suffering and emotion. And that Hardy had drunk more deeply at the well of Shakspere than elsewhere among the Elizabethans is evident not only from Mrs. Hardy's statement[7] as to his frequent attendance

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[4]P. 304. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

[5]"The Novels of Thomas Hardy," *The Common Reader: Second Series* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1932).

[6]"Four Novels of Hardy: Some Second Impressions," *The Contemporary Magazine* (August, 1932).

[7]Florence Emily Hardy, *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 69.

at the performance of Shakspere's plays but also from his frequent and apt use of Shaksperian material in his fiction in contrast with his rare use of quotations from, or references to, the work of other Elizabethans.

The following list of Shaksperian quotations and allusions supplements the lists previously published by Mr. Carl J. Weber (*Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* IX, 91-97, 162-163). The page references are to the Harpers' edition of Hardy:[8]

Love's Labour's Lost:

"Good Lord Boyet, my beauty, though but mean," etc. (II, i, 13-14), quoted in *A Laodicean,* 267

"Fair Princess, welcome to the court of Navarre," etc. (II, l, 90-92), quoted in *A Laodicean,* 267.

"Rebuke me not for that which you provoke," etc. (V, ii, 347-348), quoted in *A Laodicean,* 268.

The Comedy of Errors:

The two Dromios are mentioned in *The Trumpet-Major,* 365.

King John:

"When fortune means to men most good," etc. (III, iv, 119-120), quoted in *A Laodicean,* 169.

Romeo and Juliet:

"If I profane with my unworthiest hand," etc. (I, v, 95-98, 105-106, 108-109), quoted in *A Laodicean,* 268f.

References to Rosaline, Romeo, Juliet, and the Montagues are in *The Well-Beloved,* 69f; to Friar Laurence in *Tess,* 244; to Juliet in *Desperate Remedies,* 110; to Romeo in *The Mayor of Casterbridge,* 137; and criticism of the play in *The Hand of Ethelberta,* 59.

A Midsummer Night's Dream:

"The course of true love" (I, i, 134) is paraphrased in *A Laodicean,* 429.

References to Hermia and Helena are in *A Laodicean,* 253.

The Merchant of Venice:

"I hold the world but as the world," etc. (I, i, 76-78), quoted in *The Trumpet-Major,* 171.

"The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose" (I, iii, 99), echoed in *The Hand of Ethelberta,* 62.

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[8]For three of these quotations I am indebted to three of my students: Nancy Eskridge, Janeal Herndon, and Mary L. Hutcheson.

Henry IV, Part I:

"Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know," etc. (II, iii, 114-115), quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 124.

"Enfeoffed herself to popularity," etc. (III, i, 69-73), quoted in *The Hand of Ethelberta,* 192.

As You Like It:

"Why, if thou never wast at court," etc. (III, i, 41-46), echoed in *Tess,* 304.

Rosalind referred to in *A Group of Noble Dames,* 17.

Twelfth Night:

"Sweet-and-twenty" (II, iii, 52) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 15.

Hamlet:

"To the manner born" (I, iv, 15) is quoted in *Far from the Madding Crowd,* 11.

"Happy is that we are not over-happy" (II, ii, 232) is echoed in *Far from the Madding Crowd,* 168.

"There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so," (II, ii, 256) is quoted in *Two on a Tower,* 123.

"Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" (III, i, 85) is echoed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 151.

"Out-herods Herod" (III, ii, 16) is echoed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 418.

"As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing" (III, ii, 71) is quoted in *The Woodlanders,* 218.

"Can one be pardoned and retain the offence?" (III, iii, 56) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 312.

"I must be cruel, only to be kind" (III, iv, 178) is echoed in *The Trumpet-Major,* 171.

"Dog will have his day" (V, i, 315) is echoed in *A Laodicean,* 255.

"A divinity that shapes our ends" (V, ii, 10) is echoed in *The Woodlanders,* 106.

There are references to Hamlet in *The Hand of Ethelberta,* 308; to Guildenstern in *Far from the Madding Crowd,* 168; and to Horatio in *The Woodlanders,* 218.

Othello:

"She has deceived her father, and may thee" (I, iii, 294) is quoted in *A Group of Noble Dames,* 228.

"Not poppy nor mandragora" (III, iii, 330) is quoted in *Wessex Tales,* 123.

There are references to Desdemona and her murderer in *Far from the Madding Crowd,* 360; and to *Brabantio* in *A Group of Noble Dames,* 228.

King Lear:

"An excellent thing in Woman" (V, iii, 273) is echoed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 68.

Macbeth:

"To be thus is nothing; but to be safely thus" (III, i, 48-49) is quoted in *The Hand of Ethelberta,* 287.

"What's done cannot be undone" (V, i, 75) is quoted in *The Return of the Native,* 41.

"The sear, the yellow leaf" (V, ii, 23) is echoed in *Wessex Tales,* 61.

Antony and Cleopatra:

"Kiss'd away kingdoms and provinces" (III, x, 7-8) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 408.

The Tempest:

"I would fain die a dry death" (I, i, 72) is paraphrased in *Far from the Madding Crowd,* 379.

There are references to Miranda in *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* 2; to Ariel in *A Laodicean,* 200; to Gonzalo in *Far from the Madding Crowd,* 379; and to Caliban in *Two on a Tower,* 13.

. . . . . .

Below will be found a list of the pages in Hardy's novels (Harpers' edition) that contain Shaksperian quotations or allusions:

Desperate Remedies: 25, 110, 244, (23).
Under the Greenwood Tree: 273.
A Pair of Blue Eyes: title page, 1, 2, 15, 68, 96, 115, 124, 151, 200, 304, 312, 365, 408, 418.
Far from the Madding Crowd: 27, 168, 360, 379, (271).
The Hand of Ethelberta: 59, 192, 287, 308.
The Return of the Native: preface, 41.
The Trumpet-Major: 171, 337, 365.
A Laodicean: 139, 200, 253, 255, 258-276, 429.
Two on a Tower: 13, 123, 204, 301.
The Mayor of Casterbridge: 137, 284, 321.
The Woodlanders: 106, 218, 262, 288, 331, 337.
Wessex Tales: 35, 61, 84, 123.
A Group of Noble Dames: 17, 228.
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A NOTE ON *1 HENRY IV*

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THERE seems to be three different interpretations of the following lines in the first scene of the third act of *1 Henry IV* (lines 231-6 in the Cambridge edition):

> *The musicke playes.*
> *Hot.* No. I perceiue the diuell vnderstands Welsh,
> And tis no maruaile he is so humorous,
> Birlady he is a good musition.
> *La.* Then should you be nothing but musicall,
> For you are altogither gouernd by humors,
> Lie still ye thiefe, and heare the Lady sing in Welsh.

This punctuation of Hotspur's speech, which is that of the first five quartos, is obviously equivocal. Q6 (1622), accordingly, alters it thus:

> *Hot.* Now I perceiue the diuel vnderstands *Welsh.*
> And t'is no maruell he is so humorous,
> Birlady he is a good musition.

The first folio, however, interprets the lines in a quite different sense, thus:

> *Hotsp.* Now I perceiue the Deuill vnderstands Welsh,
> And 'tis no maruell he is so humorous:
> Byrlady hee's a good Musitian.

This interpretation, which makes Hospur mean "'this no wonder he is so humorous if he knows Welsh" (Wright), is adopted by most recent editors, many of whom put a full stop after *humorous.*

Theobald, however, by putting a comma after *marvel,* gave the speech a quite different implication, which is thus expressed by Elton: "No wonder he knows Welsh—he's humorous (capricious) enough for anything." This reading of the lines prevailed quite generally until the Cambridge editors voted against it, but it has recently been revived by Professor Kittredge.

Meanwhile the interpretation of Q6 has received scant attention. So far as I know, Staunton is the only editor who has followed it; he prints the speech thus:

> *Hot.* Now I perceive, the devil understands Welsh;
> And 'tis no marvel he's so humorous,
> By'r lady, he's a good musician.

The reading of Q6 is no doubt authoritative, but an emendation made so near Shakespeare's own time, by some one who surely had a keener sense of the connotation of the words involved than we have, deserves consideration. Furthermore, it is evident that this interpretation is the only one which accords with Lady Percy's retort. If her words are taken at face value, it is plain that she understands Hotspur to have associated humorousness and musical ability, not humorousness and the devil or Welshmen. The contradiction between the usual interpretation of Hotspur's jest and the speech of Lady Percy has been noticed, so far as I can learn, by only three commentators. The first, Vaughan, says:

> I believe that he means to ascribe the devil's humourness either as cause, or as effect, to his accomplishment as a musician. I think further that the musical power is intended to explain the humorous habit, and not the humorous habit to account for the musical power. Lady Percy's answer proves the first of these propositions, and strongly favours the second.*

The Arden editors, in their first edition of the play (1914), print a colon after *Welsh* and a semi-colon after *humorous* and explain the lines in the same sense as Wright, but in the notes added to their revised edition (1925) they reverse themselves thus: "Hotspur thinks it no marvel that the Devil is so full of humours, seeing he is a musician" (p. 206). Deighton also notices the point, only to circumvent it: "either intentionally or unintentionally, Lady Percy misapplies her husband's words in which it is not humours and music that are connected, but humours and the temperament of Welshmen."

In my judgment, Vaughan is right: Lady Percy's words are surely the most trustworthy clue to Hotspur's meaning.

It is true that, thus misunderstood, Hotspur's speech becomes slightly incoherent, but impulsive utterance, in which one thought trips over another, is quite characteristic of him, and here he has just been given a start by the musical manifestation of Glendower's supernatural powers. Indeed, it is perhaps more likely that at this moment his mind should run on the disconcerting supernatural music than on the Welsh national character. The interpretations at variance with Vaughan's have no doubt been fostered by the obvious association between humourness and the excitability of Welshmen, which is, I amagine, more notorious than the association between humourness and musical ability. Of this latter association, however, there can be little doubt in view of the speech from *Poetaster* (IIi ..i 102-9 quoted by the Arden editors: "No; this is Hermogenes, as humorous as a *poet* though: he is a *Musician.*" Accordingly, since the interpretation of Q6 is no less authoritative than that of F, makes just as good sense, and suits the context much better, I commend it to the attention of students and editors as deserving of more consideration than it appears to have received.

Deighton's remarks, however, raise a point of wider interest than the correct interpretation of Hotspur's speech. How often does a character in Shakspere misunderstand, deliberately or otherwise, what some one else has said? Except in scenes of broad comedy, where there is undoubtedly a good deal of misunderstanding and misapplication of the grossest kind, do not Shakspere's characters almost invariably understand one another perfectly, and, if they reapply one another's words, apply them with due respect for the sense in which they were originally used? It seems to me that they do, and that in popular art they must almost necessarily do so. It is not like Shakspere to make on character becloud the issue raised by another's words, as Lady Percy does if Deighton is right. At the same time, this trait of accurate perception in his creatures may also reflect a quickness and precision of apprehension habitual with Shakspere himself.

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Compiled by R. W. BABCOCK

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I WILL TRY CONFUSIONS WITH HIM

By HOPE TRAVER

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE has long been recognized as the most mediæval of Shaksperian plays. There have been numberless studies of the origin and development of the two main plots, the Pound of Flesh and the Casket stories, both of ancient origin. But it has been assumed that the Jessica and Lorenzo plot was of Italian Renaissance origin and that the fooleries of Launcelot Gobbo and his father were native English comedy, though some scholars are unwilling to believe Shakspere guilty of the latter. Recently the Jessica-Lorenzo plot was traced to a thirteenth-century exemplum of which the ultimate source is probably the Old Testament history of Jacob and Rachel. Jessica remains, however, a somewhat baffling and contradictory character, with traces of a most unromantic coarseness. This, I believe, can be explained by accepting Jacob's relations with Rachel and Leah as the germ from which various stories developed, some more romantic, as in the exempla of the moralists, others frankly comic, in which Jessica's prototype should be associated with a Launcelot Gobbo rather than a Lorenzo. Considerable evidence points to Launcelot Gobbo as having once played the rôle of Jacob. Exigencies of space force me thus to "give my whole case away" at once, instead of leading up to a climax.

Fortunately, my first clause needs no defense. *The Merchant of Venice,* more than most of Shakspere's plays, shows the flower from a long period of growth and, more than most, has its roots in religious and didactic story of the mediæval period.[1] The discovery of the exemplum to which

[1]The suggestion of a connection between the Trial Scene and the mediæval Processus Belial which I have made long ago in *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr Monograph Series, 1907) has since been re-iterated by others, and it incited Sir Israel Gollancz to a beautiful study of the relationship of the play as a whole to mediæval allegory in three lectures which it was my privilege to prepare for posthumous publication in a Memorial Volume: *Allegory and Mysticism. . . .* Sir Israel Gollancz. Printed for Private Circulation by George W. Jones at the Sign of the Dolphin in Gough Square, London, June, 1931.

my second clause refers was made by Mrs. Carleton Brown[2] who shows how this 13th-century exemplum supplies the indispensable element of a Christian's love for the Jew's daughter, an essential lacking in the novella by Massuccio hitherto offered as source. Before this discovery, critics had often commented on Shakspere's felicity in accounting for Shylock's incredible cruelty by showing him maddened to vengeful rage through the seduction of his daughter by a Christian. In a footnote Mrs. Brown remarks: "It is obvious that for Shakespeare's purposes the original situation of the hero as a hireling of the Jew could not be carried over. Some remnant, however, of the original steward-hero seems to have adhered to the servant in the play, who, as in the exemplum, makes his escape from a Jewish master. . . . It is to be observed that Lorenzo becomes steward to Portia."

And here you have the clue to my third clause,—and the hypothesis to which this paper is to be devoted. I propose to you Launcelot Gobbo as alternate for Lorenzo in the abduction of a Jewish maiden whose ancestor was the Rachel with whom Jacob stole away after twice seven years of hateful service. In the exemplum which Mrs. Brown discusses, the romantic aspects of the Biblical story are presented; the latently comic aspects of Jacob's history may have been exploited in the versions I assume as fore-hints for the Launcelot Gobbo scenes,—scenes which scholars from Furness to Dover Wilson have been loath to accept as wholly Shakspere's. One may see here vestiges of a farce utilizing well-known characters of the Bible for much low comedy.

That the development had come through the drama is variously indicated. Incentive thereto in England is furnished as early as 1551 when Martin Bucer, in a treatise presented to King Edward VI as a New Year's gift, speaks his approval of plays "both for exercise of youth, and for the honest and not unprofitable delectation of the public" if these plays were written by "learned and pious men."

[2] *Mediaeval Prototypes of Jessica and Lorenzo*, by Beatrice Daws Brown; *MLN*, 44 (1929) 227.

For comic themes he suggests "the dissention between the Shepherds of Abraham and Lot, the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob's service amongst the flocks of Laban."[3] Bucer was at this time Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, therefore in a position to influence playwrights for the university students, school boys, and the Children of the Chapel Royal. Somewhat later, Geoffrey Fenton made a similar selection of Biblical themes: "I wish that in place of daunces at mariages the time were supplied with some comical or historical show of the auncient mariages of Abraham and Sara, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of the two Tobies and their wiues, matters honest and tending much to edify the assistaunts."[4] But that edification was too frequently sacrificed to amusement is the complaint uttered, possibly by the converted dramatist Anthony Munday, whose tale of Zelauto has been studied in relation to the plot of *The Merchant of Venice,* that "the reverend word of God & histories of the Bible, set forth on the stage by these blasphemous plaiers, are so corrupted with their gestures of scurrilitie, and so interlaced with uncleane, and whorish speeches, that it is not posible to drawe anie profite out of the doctrine of their spiritual moralities."[5]

The play of *Jacob and Esau,*[6] to which I now turn, might well shock a tender conscience in its persistent "scurrilitie" toward Esau while decking Jacob with every modest and pious trait. It is manifestly a school play, for which both Udall, Headmaster of Eton, and Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, have been tentatively suggested as author. Since it is easily accessible, I shall confine myself to noting certain points which might have offered suggestion for *The Merchant of Venice.*

Its prologue and the emphasis in the play itself upon the righteousness of Rebecca's device to outwit her husband seem strikingly to anticipate two points in the debate between Shylock and Antonio on "interest"—that topic of

[3]E. K. Chambers: *The Elizabethan Stage.* 1923. II: 239-40.
[4]Geoffrey Fenton: *A Form of Christian Pollicie gathered out of French,* 1574.
[5]*A Second and Third blast of retrait from plaies and theaters,* 1580, p. 144, quoted by Chambers, *op. cit.,* p. 211.
[6]Published in Dodsley's *Old Plays,* Volume 2, and re-edited by W. Bang, in 1908.

engrossing concern to Elizabethans, and certain Shaksperian commentators today. You remember the famous lines of Shylock's defense as he relates how Jacob enriched himself at Laban's expense and Antonio's retort that this was

> "A thing not in his power to bring to pass,
> But sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of Heaven."

In the prologue to *Jacob and Esau* we read:

> "But before Jacob and Esau yet born were,
> Or had either done good, or ill perpetrate:
> As the prophet Malachi and Paul witness bear,
> Jacob was chosen, and Esau reprobate:
> Jacob I love (saith God) and Esau I hate.
> For it is not, (saith Paul) in man's renewing or will,
> But in God's mercy, who chooseth whom he will."

and the next stanza reiterates the doctrine that

> " whatever God's ordinaunce was,
> Nothing might defeat but that it must come to pass,"

just as Antonio declares to Shylock.

The first scene presents, in the grudging and abusive Esau and his wittily complaining servant Ragan, much that suggests the unhappy relations between Shylock and Launcelot Gobbo. Ragan, entering with hunting equipment and three greyhounds, "or one as may be gotten", complains of having been dragged from his bed while it is yet starlight. Here the stage direction is given: "Here he counterfeiteth how his master calleth him up in the mornings, and of his answers," and we see not only that method later utilized by Launcelot Gobbo but also a situation as intolerable as that from which Launcelot flees.

> "What the devil aileth him! Now truly I think plain
> He hath some worms or botts in his brain,
> He scarcely sleepeth twelve good hours in two weeks,
> I wot well his watching maketh me have lean cheeks,
> For there is none other life with him day by day,
> But, up, Ragan! up, drowsy hogshead! I say:
> Why, when? up, will it not be ? up! I come anon.
> Up, or I shall raise you in faith, ye drowsy whoreson.
> Why when? shall I fet you? I come, sir, by and by . . . ."

Compare this with Shylock's impatient summons of his daughter while reluctantly releasing Launcelot Gobbo from his service:

> "Well, thou shalt see, thy eyes shall be thy judge,
> The difference of old Shylock and Bassanio: . . .
> What, Jessica! . . . Thou shalt not gormandize,
> As thou hast done with me: . . . What, Jessica! . . .
> And sleep and snore, and rend apparel out; . . .
> Why, Jessica, I say!"

Ragan's self-communion continues as he recalls how he and his master range the wild forest, "no crumb of bread from morning to night",

> "But if I be found slack in the suit following, ...
> He will be quick enough to fume, chafe, and chide,
> Am I not well at ease such a master to serve,
> As will have such service, and yet will let me starve?"

Esau enters and is as violently abusive, as Ragan's soliloquy has led us to expect.

As these quotations show, it is Ragan, rather than the pious, mother-led Jacob who offers points for Launcelot Gobbo. Jacob, in fact, after a scene where Esau's pangs of hunger are presented with startling realism, shows a spirit akin to Shylock's in his close bargaining over the mess of pottage and his care to make the contract binding. But it is Esau who resembles Shylock as a violent, grudging master, and later in his furious rage for vengeance against Jacob. The play is unusually strong in characterization for one so early, and might well have attracted Shakspere's attention, not only for the points already mentioned, but also because of Rebecca's skill in rationalizing her device for deceiving her husband. But with the scene in which Jacob wins his father's blessing the play becomes too serious for further analysis as comedy and it does not extend beyond his flight from home. It does not offer, therefore, the comparison it might with the Jessica and Lorenzo plot and only a little toward the clowning perhaps once connected with some other play about Jacob.

It is to the Commedia dell'Arte that one may turn for full exploitation of such gifts of mimicry and comedy as the

play just discussed shows in germ in Ragan and the delightful child Midi. Such recourse is the more natural because of the name and rôle of Gratiano in both *The Merchant of Venice* and the Italian improvised drama. In the latter, no character is more popular than the Doctor Gratiano of Bologno, whose academic gown and hood were often uncouthly splotched to indicate his wine-bibbing propensities, and whose name became synonymous with fool in Italy and Spain. Such a Gratiano might, in one or more of his endlessly varied rôles, very easily supply the part in our play. Note his first appearance with professional comment that Antonio "looks not well," and learned discourse prefaced:

> " Let me play the fool:
> With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come;"

His harangue is dismissed by Bassanio as "an infinite deal of nothing," for Bassanio speaks from old experience. He knows Gratiano's variety of "parts" whose "skipping spirit" he later urges his follower to "allay with some cold drops of modesty." But, on the whole, he is more romantically treated by Shakspere than in the Italian comedies.

Launcelot Gobbo, on the other hand, is nearer the typical Italian fool or zany, even to the suggestion of the usual physical as well as mental deformity implicit in his name—Gobbo—or hunchback. The Italian phrase "mettere in gobbo"—to pawn at the Monte de Pieta—accurately defines his relation to Shylock. The former relation to Rachel or Leah—Jessica, which I hypothecate, may possibly linger in the name Launcelot—"ergo, Master Launcelot"—rather than to connect that name with Lance, whom he nevertheless resembles. His first appearance, in debate with himself, is in accord with an immemorial stage device of the zanni who delighted in exhibiting agility in flashing from one rôle to another.

By rare good fortune, since improvised drama does not often reach the printed page, I have found account of a scene that in stage action is sufficiently like that in which Launcelot Gobbo first appears. It is in the oldest scenario of the Italian comedy described by Winifred Smith[7] in her

[7]Smith, Winifred: *The Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 103-108.

book on *The Commedia dell'Arte,*—a play presented by amateurs at the wedding of the Duke of Bavaria in 1568 with the assistance of two "professional" actors, two clowns who remind me a little of our two Gobbos. Their scene is preceded by one in which the young lover is cast from the height of contentment, with fortune and love, to grievous exile from his lady Camilla by the arrival of a fateful letter from his brother, a situation remotely like that of Bassanio's after his fortunate casket choice. Now enters the Pantalone dressed as a Magnificoe but wearing a mask which the mere sight of made everybody laugh. Lute in hand, he plays and sings an absurd love-ditty, then rehearses a long discourse between himself and his beloved. (To such a dotard lover might well be applied the ridiculously contrasting names of our Launcelot Gobbo, who equally delights in self-commiseration and self-dramatizing.) To him now enters Zanne, who not having seen his Pantalone for years, does not recognize him until after much quarrelling. "Then for joy Zanne took his master on his shoulders and they turned like a windmill. . . ." May one perhaps read into this a hint for Launcelot Gobbo's jugglery with his father, with whom he will "try confusions," but his whirling to give the old man the back of his head to feel instead of his face as a comic reminiscence of Jacob's deception of Isaac? A dramatic improvement upon the mere whirling in the Italian farce. Here, after absurd lament for his dead wife, Pantalone bade Zanne carry some pullets to his beloved. Zanne promised to speak for his master, but presenting the gift as his own, won favor for himself instead. (Zanne, like Launcelot Gobbo and Jacob, you see, turns the food-offering to his own advantage and the defeat of its original object.)

I do not for a moment offer this scene as a "source" for that between Launcelot and old Gobbo, but only as an example, probably one of many, which remotely approaches the stage action in that scene, and which is typical of the method of the Italian actors who undeniably influenced the English. In the Commedia dell'Arte one finds a light impudence and irreverence even in the treatment of serious

themes which makes it natural to seek here the transformation of Biblical themes to material for comedy.

But now to turn to *The Merchant of Venice* itself and see how far it reveals an awareness of both the romantic treatment of Jacob's love for Rachel, finally resulting in the Jessica-Lorenzo plot, and the comic treatment of his deception not only of his father but also of his master, Laban. In the scenes where Launcelot Gobbo appears I find it possible to see vestiges of some interlude or farce in which the story of Jacob has been dramatized with much low comedy, and also indications that the plot was later romanticized by the substitution of Lorenzo as hero.

Launcelot Gobbo first appears as he meditates flight from his Jewish master. The name Gobbo appears in the Heyes Quarto a half dozen times as Iobbe—a possible corruption for Iacobo. As he is running away, he is halted by the entrance of his father, who, as later appears, brings the offer of a toothsome dish for his son's master,—a reversal of the rôles in the Genesis story, where the son brings to his father, as prologue to his deception, Isaac's favorite dish. Because his father is blind, Iobbe (or Jacobo) mischievously determines to "try confusions" with him. The conversation that follows can surely be interpreted as a ribald echo of the Biblical scene in which Jacob, disguised as Esau, secures his father Isaac's blessing. I will confine myself to quoting the relevant lines for your comparison with *Genesis XVII.*

G. ". . . . the boy was the very staff of my age, my very prop."

L. ". . . . Do you not know me, father?"

G. "Alack the day, I know you not, young gentleman: but, I pray you, tell me, is my boy, God rest his soul, alive or dead?"

L. "Do you not know me, father?"

G. "Alack, sir, I am sand-blind; I know you not."

L. "Nay, indeed, if you had your eyes, you might fail of the knowing me: It is a wise father that knows his own child. Well, old man, ... give me your blessing. . . . . .

G. "Pray you, sir, stand up: I am sure you are not Launcelot, my boy."

L. "Pray you, let's have no more fooling about it, but give me your blessing: I am Launcelot, your boy that was, your son that is, your child that shall be."

G. "I cannot think you are my son."

L. "I know not what I shall think of that: but I am Launcelot, the Jew's man; and I am sure Margery your wife is my mother."

G. "Her name is Margery, indeed: I'll be sworn, if thou be Launcelot, thou art mine own flesh and blood. Lord worshipped might he be! what a beard hast thou got! thou hast got more hair on thy chin than Dobbin my fill horse has on his tail." . . . . "Lord, how art thou changed! How dost thou and thy master agree? I have brought him a present. How 'gree you now?"

L. "Well, well: but, for mine own part, as I have set up my rest to run away, so will I not rest till I have run some ground . . . ."

In the ensuing distorted and interrupted conference with Bassanio, one may perchance not too wilfully find a few echoes of Jacob's probable suit to Laban. Those two, we remember, are "scarce cater-cousins." One (Esau and Shylock) "having done me wrong, doth cause me" to "leave a rich Jew's service, to become the follower" of another. To an ear thus attuned, is not Iobbe's rueful (?) expectation of a "plurality of wives," as he reads the line of life in his palm, a reminder of Jacob's twain, plus their servants' two? His earlier phrase, "as I have set up my rest," might recall Jacob's dream, when he was running away, of the ladder "set upon the earth." One remembers that "Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had for a pillok, and set it up for a pillar . . ." "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on. . . ." Such a proviso, if it be not sacrilegious to suggest it, would appeal to Iobbe, who complains of Shylock, "I am famished in his service," and looks forward to serving "Master Bassanio who, indeed, gives rare new liveries: if I serve not him, I will run as far as God has any ground."

In the following scene, Jessica (the name Leah of Jacob's

first wife is transferred to her mother, one notes at Shylock's outcry: "my turquoise! I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor") sorrowfully bids farewell to Launcelot and gives him money, as does the girl in Mrs. Brown's exemplum who, as here, is left at home. True, Jessica does flee later, with Lorenzo. Here, as in the exemplum, and not in Massuccio, the planning is her's, not her lover's. This exemplum, then, which Mrs. Brown thinks, served Shakspere's purpose better than the later development by Massuccio, would, if it were Shakspere's source, be utilized not only to account for Shylock's maddened rage of vengefulness but also to raise Jessica's love from the level of low comedy, consequent upon her possible original relations with Iobbe, to the romantic tone of the rest of the play. Therefore, in this scene and the next the young Italian Lorenzo is first introduced as her lover. Her prior connection with Launcelot Gobbo, however, may be implied from the unpleasant jesting between the two about her parents, barely hinted in Act II but more fully developed in Act III, and there followed by a significant bit of dialog when Lorenzo, entering, pretends jealousy of Launcelot Gobbo and Jessica retorts, "Nay, . . . Launcelot and I are out."[8]

And so in thi sscene, where Shakspere vents also his dislike of mere "wit-snappers," Launcelot Gobbo drops out of the drama, too, except for a moment's clownish play as postboy in Act V. But Jacob is not so easily dismissed from Shakspere's thought. Scholars have called attention to the stately Biblical idioms with which he has clothed the speech of Shylock, but I have seen no note of how frequently this is inspired by the chapter in *Genesis* which deal with Jacob's story. Jacob is directly recalled not merely when Shylock swears by Jacob's staff but more fully in the famous passage where Shylock defends interest by relating Jacob's trickery

[8]Can there be a reference to an earlier trick played upon Jacob by Laban in Launcelot's obscure taunt about the Moor in III: v? I make the suggestion with reluctance; but certainly Leah was with "more than reason" one of whom Jacob could say "if she be less than an honest woman, she is indeed more than I took her for." The word Moor, interpretative of no name of Jacob's wives or concubines, is doubtless introduced for the sake of the pun—so beloved by all clowns. It may be idle to suggest that Nerissa, which means black, has replaced an earlier blackamoor; for Shakspere avoids the tasteless situations as he does the insipid loves of the dotards in Italian comedy.

in provision for his flight from Laban with his numerous family.

Laban does not show Shylock's dislike of music and festivity, yet may have suggested to him the sneer against "the vile squealing of the wry-necked fife" and "this sound of shallow foppery" when he reproached Jacob for having "stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters . . . . I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp . . . . yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" Behold how early in the long history of father's outcry—more often, to be sure, against rascally son than daughter—is this juxtaposition of daughter and ducats (or treasure more precious to Laban). When Jacob, who "knew that Rachel had stolen them," pronounces the customary imprecation against a thief, "let him not live!" he utters the curse expressly forbidden to Laban in a vision. Shylock, not so restrained, hisses: "I would my daughter were dead at my feet and the ducats in her coffin!" but a reminiscence of the restraint put upon Laban is suggested in the words which immediately follow from Shylock: "why, thou loss upon loss: the thief gone with so much, and so much to find the thief; and no satisfaction, no revenge!" Like Shylock, Laban fails completely to recover anything and is forced to accept his defeat and to recognize the power of the God of his son-in-law.

Quite startling is it, in looking up the cross references to the verse where Laban calls upon the God of their fathers to "judge betwixt us," to find at the beginning of the designated eight chapter of Isaiah the remarkable name Maher-shalal-hash-baz, with marginal interpretation: "In making speed to the spoil he hasteneth the prey." Is it too fanciful to suggest that the middle part of this name of sinister import in its similarity of sound to Shalabbin: "place of foxes or jackals," reminded Shakspere that jackal was a common Elizabethan nickname for usurer? One remembers how Shylock harps upon the fact that Antonio has called him a dog:

> "Thou calledst me dog before thou hadst a cause;
> But since I am a dog, beware my fangs."

Now even more common than jackal as Elizabethan nickname for usurer was cormorant, and for this, as Sir Israel Gollancz[9] has pointed out, the Hebrew Bible gives the word "shallach" in naming animals to be avoided in the diet of pious Jews; and so it entered the Bible dictionaries current in the Elizabethan period. From this, Gollancz says, Shakspered fashioned the name Shylock.

Other Jewish names in the play, with their significant interpretation, we may also owe to Shakspere's close study of the *Genesis* story. Both Gollancz and Elze before him have traced the name Jessica to the Biblical Iscah: "she who looketh out." When Rebecca urges her son to flee Esau's wrath, she says: ". . . flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran." It is significant that the marginal reference to this verse directs us to the chapter where Haran is mentioned as the father of Iscah, as in the preceding chapter Shylock's friends, Tubal and Cush, are also mentioned. Gollancz and Elze note that it is Jessica who, by her looking out "beyond her father's home and by her heartless defection, goaded him to distraction." Both Rebecca and Isaac warn Jacob against taking a wife outside his race, and Rebecca's tragic cry, ". . . if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?" she as truly exposes her double interest as does Shylock in his exclamation, "My ducats and my daughter," and bitter outcry:

> "I have a daughter;
> Would any of the stock of Barrabas
> Had been her husband rather than a Christian."

Evidence that the association of Jessica with Rachel was early, and was still current in 1701, when Lord Lansdowne revised *The Merchant of Venice,* is seen in the couplet where he makes Lorenzo thus geet the eloping Jessica:

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[9]Gollancz: *op. cit.,* p. 41-42; also his note on Shakspere's use of names in his essay in *The Book of Homage,* 1916. Elze is quoted on Jessica in the Variorum edition of *The Merchant of Venice.*

[10]See the Variorum *Merchant of Venice* for Lord Lansdowne's revision. Here also is reprinted the old ballad of *The Northern Lord,* which is reminiscent of Jacob's dilemna with its two sisters of contrasted beauty as well as of Shylock's cruelly demanded "bond."

> "So whilest old *Laban* snor'd in Bed
> *Jacob* with sprightly *Rachel* fled."

and Jessica furthers the daming comparison:

> "His gold, and gems of Price they took,
> And eke the Flower of every Flock."

This pert Jessica is reminiscent of the wanton who callously gave her father's precious turquoise in exchange for a monkey and who bandied low jests with Launcelot Gobbo, for whom in these two situations and in her unfeeling comments upon her father, she seems more fit mate for Lorenzo. But this is not the usual Jessica.

From the evidence presented in this paper one may justifiably conjecture that Shakspere may have known in dramatic forme the farcical development of the Jacob story, of which vestiges still adhere in our play, but, finding the romantic treatment which the exemplum offers more suited to his purpose, he substituted that for the wooing, yet retained some of the clowning of the original hero to please the public, and by thus doubling the rôles has managed to "try confusions" with his audience. In the more serious *Jacob and Esau,* aspects of Jewish character are suggested which could be utilized to cater to the prejudices of the day. Turning from these possible sources to the Bible itself, Shakspere would find the interpretations of names which he could subtly turn to his own purposes and an immense enrichment of the conception of the Jew both in character and in diction. Here Shakspere's hand is unmistakable.

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AN INSERTION IN *A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM*

By N. B. Allen

IN their edition of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*[1] J. Dover Wilson and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch comment on Theseus' speech at the beginning of Act V. They declare that the blank verse of the passage in the first quarto is confused because certain of the lines were after-thoughts, added by Shakspere to the margin of the MS. and therefore broken up on account of lack of room. In the following quotation of the passage, oblique bars are introduced to indicate the correct lineation, and certain lines (4-16) are boxed in for reasons which will appear later:

Hip. Tis strange, my Theseus, that these louers speake of.
The. More straunge then true. I neuer may beleeue
These antique fables, nor these Fairy toyes.

Louers, and mad men haue such seething braines, /
Such shaping phantasies, that apprehend / more
Then coole reason euer comprehends. / The lunatick,
The louer, and the Poet / are of imagination all compact. /
One sees more diuels, then vast hall can holde: /
That is the mad man. The louer, all as frantick, /
Sees *Helens* beauty in a brow of Aegypt. /
The Poets eye, in a fine frenzy, rolling, / doth glance
From heauen to earth, from earth to heauen. / And as
Imagination bodies forth / the formes of things
Unknowne: the Poets penne / turnes them to shapes,
And giues to ayery nothing, / a locall habitation,
And a name.. / Such trickes hath strong imagination,
That if it would but apprehend some ioy,
It comprehends some bringer of that ioy.
Or in the night, imagining some feare,
How easie is a bush suppos'd a Beare?
Hyp. But, all the story of the night told ouer,
And all their minds transfigur'd so together,
More witnesseth than fancies images,
And growes to something of great constancy:
But howsoeuer, strange and admirable.

According to Wilson and Quiller-Couch[2] the mislined lines of the above quotation, that is lines 5-7 and the part

[1] Cambridge, England, 1924. See pp. 80-86.
[2] E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1930, 1, 360-361) agrees with them.

of the passage beginning with line 11 and extending to the end of the sentence in line 16, are the ones that were added.

It seems more likely, however, that the whole portion of the speech from line 4 to the break in line 16 (the part which has been boxed in above) was added, and that the correct lineation of parts of it is due to chance. For according to Wilson's and Quiller-Couch's explanation line 8 originally followed line 4, and this seems unlikely. The order in which the madman and the lover are treated in lines 8-10 and the fact that the words are singular and not plural make it seem more probable that line 8 was written to follow line 7 as it does now, and not line 4. Moreover, if the whole boxed-in portion is removed, a consecutive speech remains. The latter part of line 16 follows naturally after line 3; and the reference of the word "their" in the second line of Hippolyta's following speech (line 22) is much clearer than it becomes when the insertion is restored to its place.

But there is another problem. In the first three lines of the inserted passage (lines 4-6) Shakspere uses two of the words he had already used in lines 16-20 below—"apprehend" and "comprehend"; and the sense of the two groups of lines is very much the same. Why this repetition? Apparently the answer is that the passage Shakspere had ready to insert began with

> "The lunatick, the louer, and the Poet."

In order to lead up to it he decided to revise lines 16-20 and wrote the first lines of the insertion as it now stands to take their place. The printer, however, failed to notice Shakspere's mark of deletion—as he later failed to notice the one pointing to a discarded ending[3]—and printed both passages.

If this explanation is correct, modern editors might very well omit the last four and a half lines of Theseus' speech, just as they omit from *Romeo and Juliet* the lines in Romeo's last speech of II, 2, which are repeated by the Friar at the beginning of II, 3.

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[3]See Wilson's and Quiller-Couch's note on V, 1, 378-429, and E. K. Chambers' support of their contention, *op. cit.*, I, 360-361.

FOUR EARLY SHAKSPERE ALLUSIONS

By WILLIAM SLOANE

A REMARKABLY early allusion to Shakspere and some other Elizabethan poets occurs in verses "To the Reader" prefixed to Robert Roche's *Evstathia or the Constancie of Svsanna* (Oxford, 1599):[1]

> Expect not heere, th' invention, or the vaine,
> Of *Lucrece rape-write:* or the curious scan,
> Of *Phillis* friend; or famous fairy-*Swaine;*
> Or *Delias* prophet, or admired man.
> My chicken fethered wings, no ympes enrich,
> Pens not full sum'd, mount not so high a pitch.
>
> Let *Colin* reare his flight to admiration,
> And traine his louely flocke, his pipe to follow.
> Let *Damons* reach, out-reach all imitation;
> And frame melodious hymnes, to please Apollo.
> The swaine that pend this pastorall for Pan;
> Thought once to end his worke, ere began.

Damon and *"Phillis* friend" would probably be one and the same, Thomas Lodge; *"Delias* prophet" would be Samuel Daniel; and Colin would be Spenser, "famous fairy-*Swaine."* The probably unique copy of *Evstathia* in the Bodleian formerly belonged to Robert Burton.[2]

* * * *

Though William Martyn, the "Recorder of the honourable Citie of Exeter," was of course a student of historical writings, the following extract from his *Youths Jnstruction* (London, 1612) perhaps shows his familiarity with Falstaff, Prince Hal, and the rest of their crew. The passage occurs when Martyn warns his son to avoid evil company:[3]

> Who but the vnthrifty companions of *Henry* the fift, made him a wild, and a swaggering Prince? And what but their banishment? and a mutuall conuerse with his graue, and prudent counsellors of estate, made him afterwards to be a most renowned and a peerless king?

* * * *

[1] Sig. A^3 verso.
[2] F. Madan, *Oxford Books,* I, 47.
[3] p. 38. Copies in Brit. Mus. and Huntington Lib.

Among the books advertised for sale by William Leake, at the end of *Aula Lucis, Or, The House of Light: A Discourse written in the year 1651. By S. N. a Modern Speculator.* (London, Leake, 1652),[4] will be found a group of plays which include *Henry IV, Othello, or the Moore of Venice,* and *The Marchant of Venice.*

* * * *

Listed among "PLAYS *Printed for, and Sold by,* R. Wellington, *at the* Lute *in St.* Paul's *Church-yard,*" at the end of Obadiah Walker's *Of Education* (6th edit., London, 1699),[5] are *Macbeth, Timon of Athens, Titus Andronicus, Antony and Cleopatra, Hamlet,* and *The Tempest.* In this advertisement and in the one in *Aula Lucis,* playwrights' names do not appear.

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[4]Copy in Thomason Collection, Brit. Mus.
[5]Copy in Columbia University.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

A *HAMLET* FACSIMILE

The Henry E. Huntington Library—one of the few institutions which seem to exist for the purpose of rendering service rather than of maintaining high-salaried jobs for favorites—has just issued a very useful collotype facsimile of its copy of the second quarto (1604) *Hamlet.* Earlier facsimiles and reprints are now scarce and, unfortunately, unreliable reproductions of the original. This quarto is evidently a poorly printed book on thin paper, and consequently the facsimile is in spots so blurred and the "look-through" so dark that the reading of the text is sometimes almost impossible; but, for all this, Shaksperian scholars will find this facsimile of the greatest value in their study of *Hamlet,* especially nowadays when so much Shakspere scholarship is on a drunken jag of irresponsibility, most especially with regards to this play.

Professor Oscar J. Campbell of Columbia University has written an interesting nine-page introduction for the book in which, we are happy to see, he has not wholly or definitely committed himself to the absurd and vicious views of the self-styled "scientific bibliographers." But on page 11 he tells us that this quarto throws interesting light upon the character of "Shakespeare's punctuation"—than which almost nothing can be worse. We quote Professor Campbell: "The pointing is curiously simple. The comma is almost the only mark of punctuation used. The period almost never appears, the semicolon usually indicating the full stop." These statements are so widely at variance with the facts that one wonders whether Dr. Campbell had the opportunity to examine the precious book. In act I, sc. 1, there are only nine semicolons, 5 colons, 10 query marks, and 54 periods! In I, ii, there are 9 semicolons, 9 colons, 22 query marks, and 59 periods! In I, iii, there are only 2 semicolons, 4 colons, 4 query marks, but 24 periods! In I, iv, there are only 2 semicolons, 3 colons, 7 query marks, and 25 periods! In I, v, there are 7 semicolons, 4 colons, 5 query marks, and 63 periods! Surely these statistics are sufficient to disprove Dr. Campbell's allegations—probably borrowed from an irresponsible source—regarding the punctuation of the play.

Notwithstanding all the criticism which has, in our opinion, completely annihilated the Simpsonian theory of dramatic punctuation, Dr. Campbell says: "This apparently loose employment of the comma gives some weight to the theory that Elizabethan pointing of dramatic texts was designed not so much to indicate logical relationships as desired elocutionary effects." According to this theory, the quarto punctuation shows us "Shakespeare's idea of the proper manner of delivering important speeches and the conventional practice of actors." That these views cannot possibly represent the truth will be evident to anyone who attempts to read the following extracts as punctuated in Q2:

> "*Horatio* saies tis but our fantasie,
> And will not let beliefe take holde of him,
> Touching this dreaded sight twice seene of vs,
> Therefore I haue intreated him along,
> With vs to watch the minuts of this night,
> That if againe this apparision come,
> He may approoue our eyes and speake to it."

If Shakspere indicated all those commas at the ends of the verses and felt no need for punctuation marks within the speech, he must have written these lines after a bibulous session with a dark lady. And who is so naïve as to believe that on the Elizabethan stage, famed for elocution, an actor ever read the speech that way? Such reading is tolerated only in the unresenting halls of our public schools, reading clubs and universities.

Let's have a look at another example:

> "And euen the like precurse of feare [*sic*] euents
> And harbindgers preceading still the fates
> And prologue to the *Omen* comming on
> Haue heauen and earth together demonstrated
> Vnto our Climatures and countrymen."

Imagine, if you can, an actor reading this speech as punctuated and being permitted to go on with his part. Just one other example:

> "But looke the morne in russet mantle clad
> Walkes ore the dewe of yon high Eastward hill
> Breake we our watch vp and by my aduise
> Let vs impart what we haue seene to night
> Vnto young *Hamlet,* for vppon my life
> This spirit dumb to vs, will speake to him:"

Enough of dramatic punctuation, even though we have no hope that those who have not investigated the claims of pseudo-scientific bibliographers will stop teaching their students that "such distortions [in spelling and punctuation] show that the compositor must have followed his copy *literatim* and that he reproduced its punctuation mechanically and uncritically." In other words, we are to believe that the vagaries of an ignorant, stupid, and indifferent mechanic give us a faithful transcript of what Shakspere wrote.

On page 9 Professor Campbell seems to support the suggestion of Mr. McKerrow "that some of the worst cruxes in Elizabethan texts have been caused by correctors who had tried to clear up the confusion made by a careless or incompetent compositor, without consulting the original manuscript from which the printer [!] had worked." But Mr. McKerrow has presented not the slightest particle of proof in support of this "belief." All that may be said in its favor is that it is *not impossible* that sometimes a textual error originated in this way—*in the absence of the manuscript.* It is obvious, however, that a person employed as a corrector in a printery would, if he suspected an error, consult the author's manuscript and not resort to guessing. In the case of *Hamlet* the ms. was available.

Scholars who are interested in making an independent and unbiased study of *Hamlet* will do well to provide themselves with the Huntington Library's offer of its facsimiles of quartos 1 and 2 for $5.

DAVID GARRICK

David Garrick, the theatrical miracle of the eighteenth century, was not a literary genius of the first rank; but he is of interest to Shaksperians and to others interested in the drama because he loved his Shakspere, devoted his best abilities to interpreting him on the stage, attempted to popularize him by adapting eight or nine of his plays to eighteenth-century taste, and by writing (adapting, translating) a large number of fairly entertaining plays, alone and in collaboration with Colman.

These plays by Garrick are not readily accessible to general readers; they are therefore almost wholly unknown,

except to a few specialists. One of these specialists is Dr. Elizabeth P. Stein, who has devoted many years to the affectionate study of Garrick's work. As a result of these studies she has now published a delightfully readable book on her hero in which she tells interestingly the stories of the plays as well as of the circumstances and events connected with the writing of each. Nor does she neglect his "sources," his squabbles with his collaborator, and the high-lights in the characterizations. Garrick as a moralist and would-be reformer of many of the foibles and affectations of his contemporaries—even though his primary purpose was only to amuse his audiences—is not neglected. The reader, therefore, learns not only a great deal about Garrick and his plays but also about his environment and the theatre for which he worked.

The book (*David Garrick, Dramatist,* published by The Modern Language Association of America, and made by the George Banta Publishing Company) is excellently printed (being freer from typographical errors than any other book we have recently examined—testifying to the author's skill and patience as a proofreader), tastefully bound, and—notwithstanding its 333 pages and its 12 full-page illustrations—marketed for only $2.50. Before dismissing this subject, we must call attention to two important points: the book has what is in all probability a complete bibliagraphy of Garrick's plays and an index which can serve as a model for all scholarly books.

CLUBS, BILLS!

At the suggestion of our president and at the request of some of our members, we herewith throw open the pages of our learned BULLETIN to reports of the activities of Shakspere clubs anywhere in these United States. It is generally believed that almost every city, town, and hamlet in this country has its Shakspere club, including of course, also its Bacon-Rutland-Oxford varieties. All these organizations worship the bard and his works; regularly recurring meetings are devoted to the reading and discussion of the plays and poems as well as occasionally of the works of some of his contemporaries. Unquestionably the bills of the programs of these meetings—including reports of birthday celebrations—would be read with great interest by those sending the reports as well as by others. And undoubtedly such reports would serve to stimulate an interest in Shakspere in many who at present are not doing anything for Shakspere, for the drama and for what is best in literature.

Secretaries of Shakspere clubs are therefore invited to send us copies of their programs and reports.

AN IMPORTANT BOOK

From the Stanford University Press there comes the announcement that it is ready to go ahead with the printing of Professor B. Roland Lewis's great work, *The Shakespeare Documents: Facsimiles, Transliterations, Translations and Commentary,* on which he has been steadily at work for almost twenty years. We are promised that in this work the student will find "the entire corpus of the important [!] documentary and contemporary printed material relating to Shakespeare" subjected to exhaustive study. An important feature of this book, which will give it special value to research students, will be the large number, some sixty-odd, of facsimiles of Shak-

sperian documents made from photographs of the originals. The publishers assure us that all the technical resources of modern methods of reproduction have been taken advantage of "to screen off ink-blotches, grease spots, mould spots, crushed-vermin spots, etc." If this is so, these facsimiles will be of greater value to scholars than the originals. In connection with this we are also promised a great deal of "original critical commentary upon each item."

The book is to be printed in a limited edition, the number depending upon the number of subscribers, in two tall volumes (11 x 14 inches), on fine paper and in a handsome cloth binding, for $25. After the publication of the book the price will be raised to $35. Moral: Order now, save $10 and secure a book of permanent value.

A GREAT VARIORUM

The twenty-second volume of the Furness variorum edition of Shakspere's works reached us a few days ago. It is Professor Hyder E. Rollins's edition of the *Poems,* that is, of *The Rape of Lucrece, Venus and Adonis, The Passionate Pilgrim, The Phoenix and the Turtle,* and *A Lover's Complaint.* The *Sonnets* are not included, obviously because Professor Raymond M. Alden's admirable variorum edition of these poems is available to scholars and because they could not be treated in one volume with the other poems. In format, printing, and other mechanical features, this volume is an exact counterpart of the other volumes in the series, with the agreeable exception of having all the bolts trimmed. As usual, the book bears the imprint of the J. B. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia, even though the copyright belongs to The Modern Language Association of America. Notwithstanding its 686 pages and five facsimiles, the books sells for only $6.

Anyone who will give himself the pleasure of examining this volume with the care it deserves will agree with us that this is, out of all whooping, the best in the series. It wants nothing that we expect to find in a modern variorum of a classic. We have here a faithful reproduction of the texts of the original editions, a minute and accurate collation of subsequent texts, an abundant and wisely-chosen selection of commentary, essays on the texts, sources, dates of composition, questions of authenticity, and so forth. Above all, the student will find that all this work has been done by the editor in the most scholarly, most logical, and most tolerant spirit—qualities of the utmost rarity anywhere, including Shaksperiana. A unique and valuable feature of this book is a section (12 pages!) devoted to an annotated list of musical settings to these poems.

Nothing in this world is perfect. This book is no exception to the rule, even though the imperfections are not of first-rate importance. The Shakspere coat of arms on the front cover is, as usual, incorrect—for no good reason. The bibliography (pages 622-630)—this matter sticks deeper—is much too inadequate. And we would have liked to be given facsimiles of some of the good music written for some of these verses.

For all that, this book is destined to be the standard reference work on these poetical compositions for many years to come, and—what is much more important — a monument of sound and sensible American scholarship.